# Intangible Cultural Heritage: Syrians in the UK, Untold Stories

Ataa Alsalloum

# Intangible Cultural Heritage: Syrians in the UK, Untold Stories

Ataa Alsalloum

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

ISBN 978-1-910911-22-8



First published by the Liverpool School of Architecture 2021
Edited by Anne McDowall
Project photos captured by Monika Koeck
Printed in the UK by Allprints
Front cover: Palmyra, Syria (Daniel Demeter, 2007)

This publication has been funded by David Foster Wicks Endowment Fund, with additional support from the University of Liverpool School of the Arts Research Development Initiative Fund and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences Flexible Fund.

**Note:** The Library of Congress Arabic Normalisation Table rules for transliteration from Arabic to English have been followed throughout, excluding the names of people. For clarity, words and place names that will be familiar to English speakers in their English form have been added in brackets.

UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

# Table of Contents

# Acknowledgment

The generosity and support extended to this project has been very moving, and I am very grateful to so many people, without whom this research project would not have been achievable. I would like to thank the David Foster Wicks Fund for generously funding this project. Special thanks to the Liverpool School of Architecture and to the School of Arts for going the extra mile in their support of this project. I would also like to thank the Faculty Flexible Fund, which made the dissemination and outputs possible.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Syrian–British Cultural Centre, particularly Dr Ghazwan Al Kalash, Ghena Al Kalash and Khoula Said, for supporting and facilitating all activities undertaken. Similarly, I extend my thanks to all staff members at the Arabic School, whose support has been invaluable. Very special thanks to the Syria Trust for Development, particularly Razan al-Mahameed and Rasha Barhoum, for contributing valuable material that massively enriched the outputs of this project. Thanks, too, to Dr Rida Dieb and Mariam Hamouda, who contributed recent images from Syria, and to Daniel Demeter, who generously contributed part of his fascinating material to this project.

I am very grateful to the Syrian people who took the time to participate in the survey, interviews and workshops; without them, I would have had little to no content for this research project. I would like to acknowledge the support this project was given by two intelligent researchers, Noor Ragaban and Rim Yassin Kassab. I cannot leave out Martin Winchester, Stephen Bretland and all our technician staff, who assisted in facilitating many aspects of this project.

A very special thank you to Prof. Fiona Beveridge for her unending support and to Prof. Soumyen Bandyopadhyay, the Head of the Liverpool School of Architecture. Another special thank you to Prof. Iain Jackson for his continuous support and for believing in me. Special thanks to the Museum of Liverpool for kindly hosting the dissemination event of this project. Thank you, too, to Monika Koeck, a talented professional filmmaker and a marvellous person, with whom I greatly enjoyed working. Finally, to my daughter Nour, who has been always by my side and assisted me in so many ways: thank you!


Dr Ataa Alsalloum, public lecture (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

# Introduction

Armed conflicts are known to have catastrophic consequences for communities. Nevertheless, the deep-rooted traditions of affected communities have proven supportive in helping them become more resilient and in encouraging reconciliation.
This booklet attempts to provide a brief overview of the cultural heritage of Syria, particularly the endangered intangible heritage. It also presents key findings of the research project undertaken between September 2020 and July 2021.

Syria is as old as recorded history. The civilisations that have inhabited the area have left a unique mix of architectural and archaeological evidences in Syria's dead and living sites.[1] Syria is also known as a place where multicultural societies sharing inherited traditions coexist.

Unfortunately, after ten years of armed conflict following the so called 'Arab Spring', the majority of historic and heritage sites have been partially or completely destroyed and/or looted, which has not only altered their appearance but has also made them inaccessible. Millions of Syrians have been displaced both inside and outside Syria since 2011.[2] While their inherited structures remain at home, exiled Syrians have carried their Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) with them as both they and it have been uprooted. ICH is imbedded in their memory, knowledge and daily life.

Inevitably, these exiled people have faced physical and psychological suffering. However, studies show that expatriated communities can display cultural resilience as they turn to various forms of cultural expressions to help them live through such disasters.[3]

As I have moved between Syria and the UK, I have been able to witness how differently people have depicted and reformed shared legacies. I have met many Syrians who have moved to the UK and made it their home, and I am fascinated by the resilience and perseverance they have shown in doing so.

Temple of Bel before demolition, Palmyra (Daniel Demeter, 2007)

Temple of Bel after demolition, Palmyra (Rida Dieb, 2021)

The majority of them have been successful in establishing a new life, a new career and even new hobbies, which are, partially or entirely, based on inherited traditions. Indeed, the values of resilience are ingrained in their Syrian ingrained in their Syrian heritage.

Nevertheless, there remains a lack of awareness of the importance and richness of these traditions, not only amongst Syrians themselves but also amongst the communities in which they have now resettled. Inevitably, the international image of Syria has been framed as a devastated land with displaced people. Accordingly, Syrian ICH is at grave risk of eradication due to this massive displacement and lack of awareness. The other risk lies in potential misunderstanding between communities, causing an absence of social cohesion.

The aim of the research project presented in this booklet was to collect and document ICH – which includes customs, traditions and knowledge – of Syrians currently residing in the UK. It also aimed to explore how Syrian heritage is shared and what changes Syrians have made to adapt to life in the UK. This involved looking into the Coronavirus pandemic lockdown period, and how the practice of these customs and traditions forms an integral part of the identity, memory and culture of Syrian society in exile. Ultimately, this project seeks to raise awareness of the values of such a heritage, to contribute to safeguarding it and to assist the process of socio-cultural cohesion and reconciliation.

The main methodologies were based on archival data, as well as primary data collected through a public lecture, survey, interviews and workshops, along with recording a few traditional activities practised by Syrians in Liverpool.

In this booklet, I invite you to take a brief journey to explore a small part of Syria's heritage and learn about some of the untold stories of Syrians in the UK. My hope is that it will provoke and stimulate further interest and awareness of, and research into, the tangible and intangible heritage of Syria and its people.


Left: Church of our Lady of Peace before demolition, Homs (Ataa Alsalloum, 2010)
Right: Church of our Lady of Peace after demolition, Homs (Ataa Alsalloum, 2016)


Left: Palmyra Theatre before demolition (Daniel Demeter, 2007)
Right: Palmyra Theatre after demolition (Mariam Hamouda, 2021)

## Syrian Heritage

Heritage summarises our history but also foretells our future. Hence, it certainly shapes our sense of identity. Heritage is the values and valued resources that are inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants.[4] Heritage may be natural, such as natural reserves, or cultural, such as monuments, or a mix of both.
Cultural heritage may be tangible or intangible. The former includes significant buildings, sites and artefacts – anything from cities to statues – while the latter refers to traditions and living expressions, for example traditional music, folklore, language and craftsmanship.[5] Heritage monuments are static, and can be either inhabited or deserted. However, inherited practices, knowledge and skills are adaptable and human based, and thus subject to deployment and change.

Syria is home to a great mix of both tangible and intangible heritage, including natural, cultural and mixed assets. Syria gave the world the first alphabet, as well as the oldest-known musical melody. The discovery of the latter dates back to the beginning of the second millennium BC,[6] and it was disclosed in the city of Ūghārīt (Ugarit) along the Syrian coast, changing the history of writing and music around the world.[7]

The discovery of around 20,000 tablets at the site of Īblā (Ebla), in southwest Aleppo, which dates back to about 2350 BC, constitutes one of the oldest organised archives and libraries ever found.[8]

Only six sites in Syria were listed on the UNESCO World Heritage List for their authenticity, integrity and outstanding universal values. However, all six were moved to the List of World Heritage in Danger in 2013 because of the threats posed by the conflict.[9] Each one of these sites is unique and presents a mix of architectural remains from different historical eras. Old Damascus is the only site fortunate enough to have survived recent destruction; the others have all been partially demolished and/or looted during the conflict. The following is a list of these sites, with a very brief summary of their values according to the UNESCO's listing criteria.[10]

Ūghārīt (Ugarit) archaeological site (Daniel Demeter, 2007)

Īblā (Ebla) archaeological site (Daniel Demeter, 2007)

- **Old Aleppo** comprises remains of Hittite, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Ayyubid structures and artefacts that are incorporated in the iconic Citadel. The Great Umayyad Mosque, bazaars, mosques, madrasas, cathedrals, khans and courtyard houses 'represent an exceptional reflection of the social, cultural and economic aspects of what was once one of the richest cities of all humanity'.[11]
- **Old Damascus** is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. The Great Umayyad Mosque, the Citadel, the Aẓm Palace, madrasas, khans (old trading centres and hostels), cathedrals, hammams and private residences demonstrate a 'unique aesthetic achievement' and bear witness to 'the important historical events, ideas, and traditions that helped to shape the image of the city'.[12]
- **Palmyra** ruins are a testament to the unique aesthetic achievement of a wealthy caravan oasis intermittently under Roman rule. The Grand Colonnade, the great Temple of Bel, the monumental archway and the large-scale funerary monuments 'contributed greatly to the subsequent revival of classical architectural styles and urban design in the West'.[13]

The Great Mosque of Aleppo (Daniel Demeter, 2007)

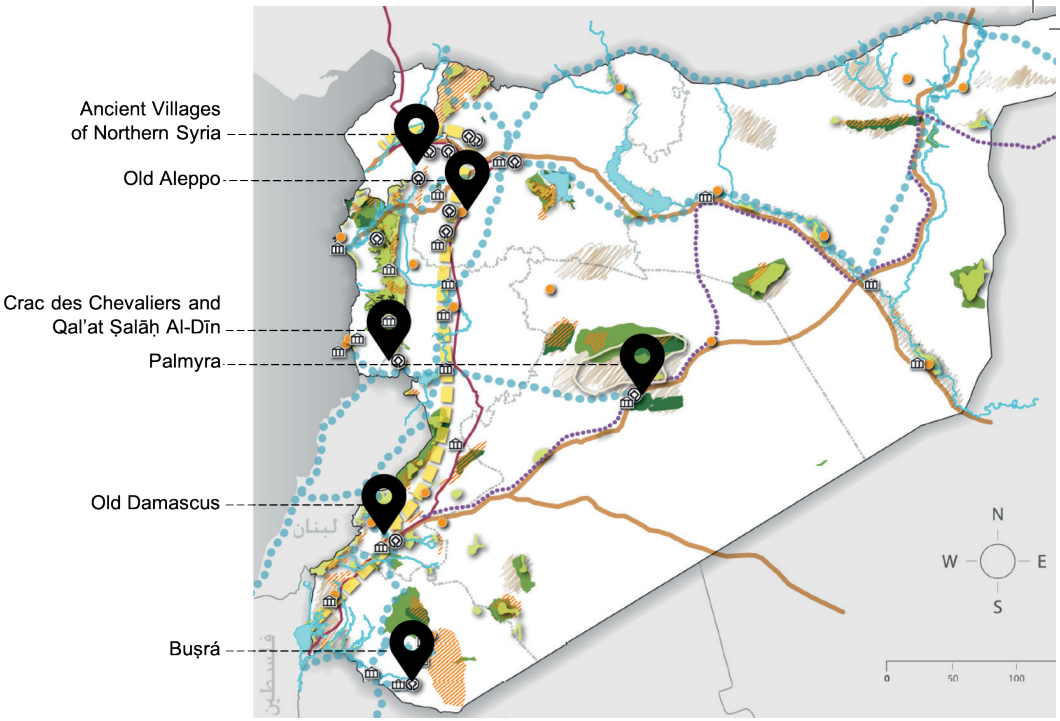
Al-Zaytūn Church, Old Damascus (Daniel Demeter, 2007)

Ancient Villages of Northern Syria (Daniel Demeter, 2008)

- **Ancient Villages of Northern Syria** provide exceptional testimony to the lifestyles and cultural traditions of the rural civilisations that developed in the Middle East and to the architecture of rural houses and civilian and religious community buildings at the end of the Classical Era and during the Byzantine Period.[14]
- In **Buṣrá (Bosra)**, the remains include extensive ruins of Nabataean, Roman, Byzantine and Umayyad buildings, including the intact second-century Roman theatre, the citadel, the sixth-century basilica, the cathedral, the Mosque of Omar and the Madrasa Jāmi‘ Mabrak al-Nāquah.[15]
- **Qal‘at al-Ḥiṣn (Crac des Chevaliers) and Qal‘at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn** represent a significant development in the fortification systems, which substantially differed from the European, and which contributed to the development of the castles in the Levant. They are the best-preserved examples in terms of their quality of construction and the survival of their historical stratigraphy.[16]

There are twelve additional sites on the UNESCO Tentative List that are waiting to be officially recognised. In addition, Syria comprises a wide variety of other valued properties, including natural, cultural and mixed-heritage assets, as the map on the next page shows.

Buṣrá (Bosra) Roman Theatre (Daniel Demeter, 2008)




Heritage sites and routes in Syria, highlighting Listed Sites (Regional Planning Institute, 2010)

Qal'at Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Latakia (Daniel Demeter, 2008)

## The Intangible Cultural Heritage of Syria

ICH is generally expressed through particular processes, phrases, expertise and skills, and includes associated objects and cultural places and spaces.[17] ICH is divided by the UNESCO into five main domains. The following are just a few examples of Syrian heritage as listed by the Syria Trust for Development:

- **Oral traditions and expressions:** e.g. *ḥakawāty* (traditional storytelling), *zajal* (oral poetry contests), *mūlawīyah* (traditional folk-lyric poetry) and Syriac Christian music. Some are accompanied by traditional musical instruments such as the *rabābah*.[18] The majority of oral traditions are practised by the mainstream social groups at special occasions reflecting the local dialects in different parts of Syria.
- **Performing arts:** e.g. playing traditional instruments such as the *'ūd* (oud) and *qānūn*,[19] *samaḥ* and *dabkah* dances,[20] *'arāḍah* performance,[21] shadow-play theatre, the *Qudūd Ḥalabīyah*[22] and Circassian dances. Most such performances are by trained professionals.
- **Social practices, rituals and festive events:** e.g. traditional weddings, *'Īd al-fiṭr* (Eid) and Christmas celebrations, *barjīs* (a game),[23] the call for *suḥūr* by *musaḥer*[24] and traditional coffee-making and drinking rituals.

Syriac dance, Qāmishly (Syria Trust for Development, 2019)

Syrian band plays with *ʻūd* and *qānūn* instruments (Syria Trust for Development, 2019)

Traditional coffee making utensils (Syria Trust for Development, 2019)

- **Knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe:** e.g. traditional agricultural practices, healing and medicine by an *ʻaṭār* (a person who prescribes traditional herbal medicine).
- **Traditional craftsmanship:** there are more than 100 categories of traditional crafts in Syria, some of which are practised by ordinary people in the course of their daily life, e.g. traditional foods such as *ma'mūl*,[25] and cheese and other dairy produce. The remainder are practised as professions, e.g. traditional building methods, rug-making and weaving, glass painting, *ʻajamī* painting and Damascus *brūkār*.[26]

Despite the rich intangible heritage domains in Syria, only four elements are included on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity; these are:

- Practices and craftsmanship associated with the Damascene rose in Al-Mrāḥ;[27]
- Shadow-play theatre;
- Falconry;
- The *Qudūd Ḥalabīyah* (under consideration).

*ʻAṭār* shop, Old Damascus (Syria Trust for Development, 2019)

A craftsman painting *'ajamī* , Old Damascus (Mariam Hamouda, 2021)

A craftsman making rug using traditional loom, Old Damascus (Mariam Hamouda, 2021)

## The Project: Syrians in the UK, Untold Stories

Besides the huge human catastrophe and displacement of millions as a result of the armed conflict in Syria since 2011, the built environment is losing not only its architectural evidence but also its soul, its ICH. Many traditions, customs, practices and knowledge that have evolved and been developed over thousands of years are on the verge of decline.

During my conversations with a variety of members of the general public, I found that there was a lack of awareness of Syrian history and heritage both amongst Syrians themselves and amongst the host communities in which they have settled. At the same time, I discovered a common desire to learn more about Syria and Syrian history and society.

Syria hosts a unique socio-cultural mix, with different religions that have lived in harmony as one society for thousands of years. Together, they have developed Syrian ICH through hundreds of generations. Kindah Ali recalled that 'one of the best memories I have about Syria is that we didn't have any cultural differences; despite the variances in religious beliefs, we used to celebrate together. For instance, everyone would have their photo taken at the Christmas tree in the main town square and everyone would celebrate *'Īd al-fiṭr* and *'Īd al-aḍḥá* together'.[28]

Indeed, such a cohesive social mix has rarely been observed in other communities with a similar context. Said Al Mashrafi highlighted this unique aspect and wished it could be shared with other societies: 'I visited Syria a couple of times before the conflict and was amazed at how all Syrians would celebrate together, whatever the occasion, regardless of their religion or ethnicity'.[29]

As a Syrian myself, I am able to understand the stories and motivations behind the desire to preserve this heritage. I am also fascinated by the resilience and perseverance Syrians have shown in adapting to their new life, besides their ability to face difficulties and crises such as the war in Syria and the Covid-19 pandemic.

The Umayyad Mosque, Old Damascus (Daniel Demeter, 2008)

Maryamīyah Church, Old Damascus (Daniel Demeter, 2008)

ICH has been described as a 'knowledge carrier' within the social ecosystem. It adapts to new situations and offers novel solutions.[30] It promotes a sense of identity and belonging, which in turn helps increase understanding of and respect for previous generations and history, particularly in cases of displacement.[31]

Consequently, the project was highly cross-disciplinary, involving architecture, heritage, history, anthropology and socio-cultural disciplines. Its aims were fourfold:

1. To collect and document the ICH – customs, traditions and knowledge – of Syrians currently residing in the UK;
2. To discover and understand how Syrians have deployed their traditions to help them adapt to life in the UK and cope during the Covid-19 pandemic;
3. To raise awareness of the richness of Syria's intangible heritage among the displaced Syrians and the host community;
4. To contribute to preserving Syria's ICH and to shaping the reconstruction and reconciliation processes in Syria.

The project was divided into six phases:

1. Mobilisation
2. Public lecture
3. Workshops with school children in two age groups: 7–11 and 11–17
4. Questionnaire survey, interviews and events recording
5. Presentation of findings
6. Dissemination of outputs and pathway for impact

Traditional *iftār* gathering by Syrians in the UK (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

Serving traditional Syrian coffee by Syrians in the UK (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

## Phase 1: Mobilisation

Contacts with different partners inside and outside the UK were established to assist at various stages of the project. A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed with a non-profit organisation, the Syria Trust for Development. The Trust kindly contributed a valuable set of data and images in relation to Syrian ICH and also provided information on recent safeguarding activities.[32]

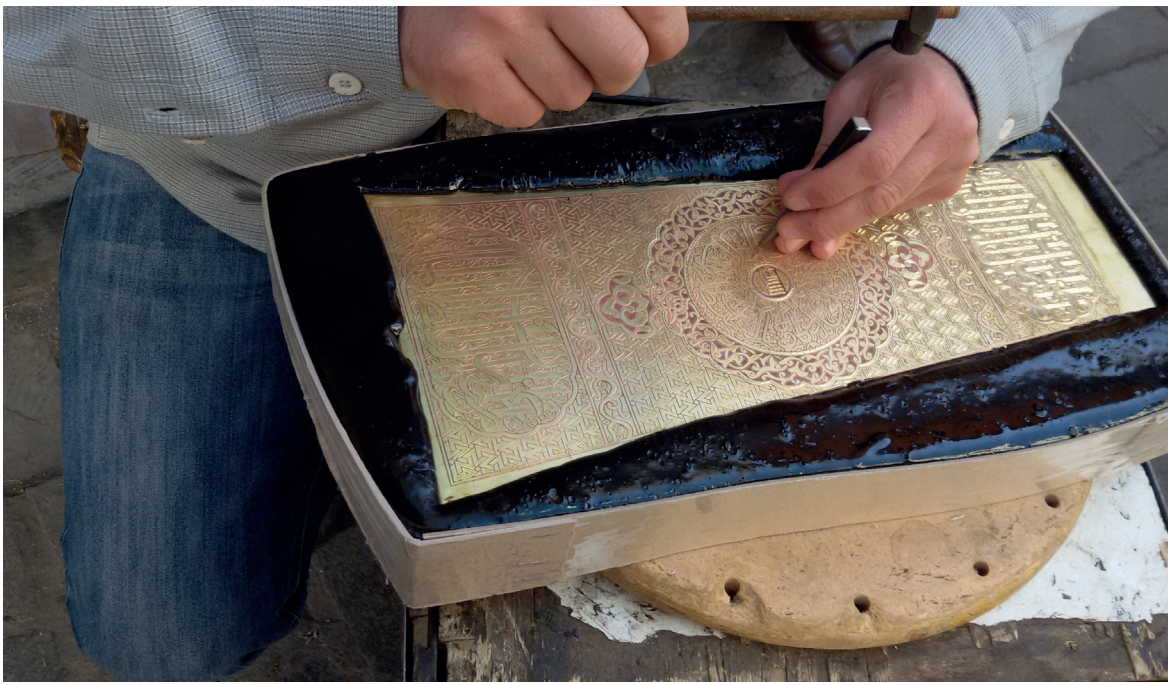
Daniel Demeter, the co-author of the book *Lens on Syria*, also kindly contributed to this project by providing a valuable set of images of heritage and historic sites in Syria.[33] He visited Syria several times between 2006 and 2009 and all the images he contributed to this project were taken at that time.

The Syrian–British Cultural Centre (S-BCC) based in Liverpool, along with the associated Arabic Language School, were key partners from the start. All activities, including planning, recruiting and advertising, were undertaken with their massive support and they also provided supervision for the project.

I also established contacts with many Syrians through my personal and professional networks. Some of these people have established their own businesses in the UK and some of these are related to ICH domains.

A Facebook webpage was created for the project, dedicated to posting announcements of the different activities and to communicating with followers.[34]

Hand drawing on glass, Old Damascus (Syria Trust for Development, 2019)



Craftsman engraving on copper in a traditional way, Old Damascus (Ataa Alsalloum, 2016)

## Phase 2: Public lecture

I planned and presented an online lecture in Arabic and invited Syrians and interested members of the public to attend via Zoom. The lecture was also presented live on the project's Facebook page. The lecture was later edited and imbedded with English subtitles to communicate to a wider audience.[35]

The lecture aimed to raise awareness about the tangible and intangible heritage of Syria and to encourage the safeguarding of such heritage by documenting different practices and supporting their continuity. Examples of heritage sites and assets from Syria were presented, along with other examples of ICH domains. When presenting ICH elements related to everyday life, I encouraged audience participation by inviting people to complete a number of folk proverbs.

I then introduced other project activities, including the survey, interviews and workshops, and invited attendees to participate later if they wished.

The open discussion at the end of the lecture highlighted the importance of this event, and many people got involved and raised various questions (see Phase 5: Findings and discussions, pages 38-45, for more details).


Public lecture online, podcasted from the University of Liverpool (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)


Public lecture online, audience (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

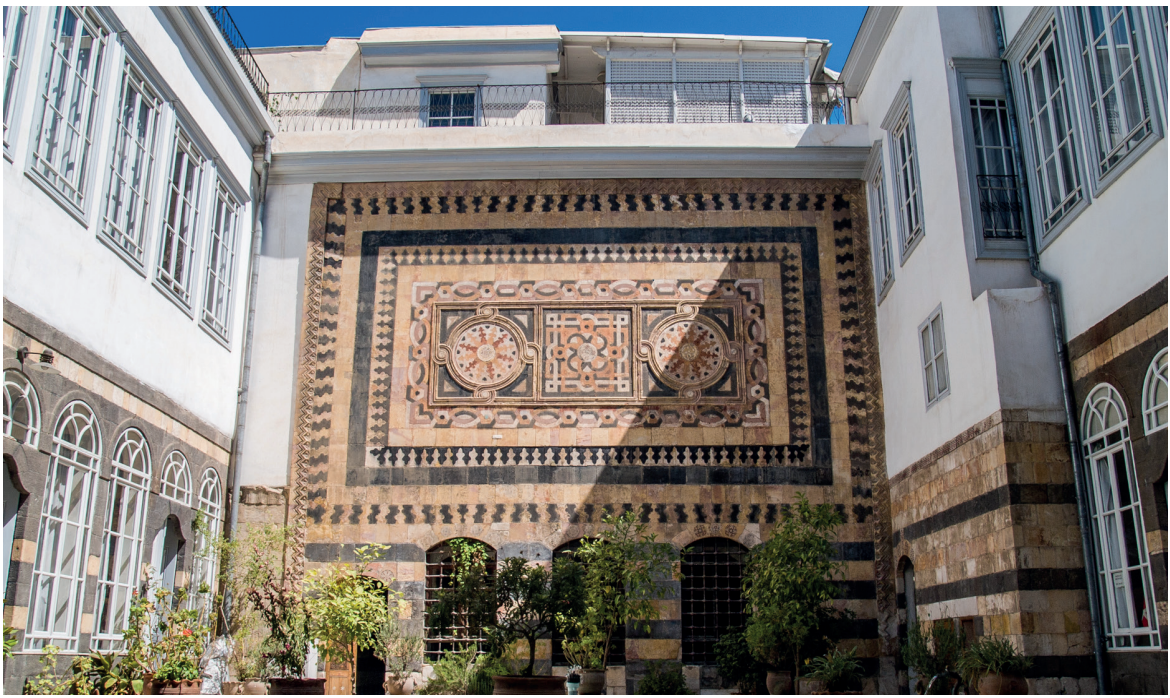
## Phase 3: Workshops

The workshops were planned around three educational activities for children and were divided into two workshops for 7–11 year olds and one for 11–17 year olds.
As all activities had to take place online due to COVID-19 restrictions, the workshops were carefully designed to ensure that information was delivered as clearly as possible and activities were simplified to avoid the need for supervision. The aim of the workshops was to raise awareness of particular elements of Syrian ICH. Each workshop lasted for an hour and featured activities that encouraged the children's full involvement, including various craft projects, drawing and colouring and quizzes. The S-BCC helped to organise and run these workshops.

In the first workshop, the children were introduced to shadow-play theatre, while the second workshop featured a traditional storyteller (*ḥakawāty*). The final workshop targeted older children/teenagers and introduced arabesque pattern-making: a traditional Syrian craft.

A puppeteer practicing shadow play theatre profession, Old Damascus (Syria Trust for Development, 2019)

*Ḥakawāty* telling a story, Old Damascus (Syria Trust for Development, 2016)



A traditional house in old Damascus, with arabesques on the walls (Daniel Demeter, 2008)

**Shadow-play theatre workshop (7–11 year olds)**

Shadow-play theatre is a traditional performing art featuring handmade puppets. *Mukhāyil* (a skilled puppeteer) moves the puppets behind a thin translucent curtain or screen inside a dark theatre. The shadows of the puppets are projected onto the screen via a light from behind the stage and an oral script and music help relate the story. Most shadow-play theatre focusses on social satire and features two main characters: the inexperienced Karakūz and his smart friend ʻIwaẓ. They are accompanied by various male and female characters and talking animals.

Performances were traditionally held in public cafés and featured stories based around daily-life events. Unfortunately, shadow-play theatre has waned over the years due to many factors, including the wide range of digital entertainment on offer and the displacement of Syrians inside and outside Syria. Accordingly, the continuity of this ICH element is threatened and might even be lost if not properly documented and safeguarded. Shadow-play theatre was inscribed on the UNESCO List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding in 2018.[36]

Following his father's footsteps, Shadi al-Hallaq, who was born and raised in Damascus, was the last remaining professional shadow-play puppeteer in Syria. Due to the conflict, Shadi lost his workplace and assets and was displaced.[37] Fortunately, he was able to collaborate with the Syria Trust for Development and has since trained around twenty young men and women, passing on to them the skills involved in this endangered traditional performing-arts form.

Celebrating Syrian shadow-play theatre, our online workshop introduced the children to traditional performing arts, focusing on shadow-play theatre. Activities involved building a theatre set, using a frame and a transparent paper/screen, depicting the Eastern Gate of Old Damascus.[38] The children then coloured the two puppets and attached them to wooden sticks to create moving puppets – Karakūz and ʻIwaẓ – and moved them while we told them a story. The workshop was run in English, but the story was told in Syrian Arabic.

The story was based on a conversation between the traditional characters Karakūz and his friend ‘Iwaẓ, who meet by chance at the Eastern Gate. As the friends enjoy a light-hearted discussion, the children were introduced to aspects of daily life in Damascus. To provide the children with some context, the names of the street, Medḥat Pasha, and the Buzūriyah souk, were mentioned in the friends’ conversation, as were some of the traditional goods sold at the markets, such as roasted nuts and laurel soap, and the liquorice-sweet seller who traditionally plies his wares in these markets. Some key features of the Great Umayyad Mosque were also included. (The Mosque is the fourth largest and oldest mosque in the world, and houses the tomb of John the Baptist, from the days when the site was that of a Christian cathedral.) Karakūz and ‘Iwaẓ also paid a visit to the famous Zaytūn Church nearby.[39]

The children received a workshop booklet that included images of the key topics featured in the characters’ conversation along with other relevant information.

Shadow play theatre workshop (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

**Ḥakawāty workshop (7–11 year olds)**

In Syria, a *ḥakawāty* is a professional storyteller, who entertains their audience in a private venue or public place. Storytellers used to tell their stories in Damascus in cafés and public spaces, where people would gather to listen to stories inspired by daily life or traditional folk stories. The *ḥakawāty* usually wore a traditional outfit that included a *shurwāl*, waistcoat, thick belt and red *ṭarbūsh*,[40] and would sit on a raised platform in the café, to be clearly visible. The storyteller either memorised the stories or rented books to read traditional tales to the crowd.[41]

The *ḥakawāty* tradition has inspired many initiatives as responses to the conflict. For example, Syria: the 'al-Hakawati' Project seeks to record elements of traditional storytelling and deploy them for future post-conflict reconciliation in Syria.[42] Another example is The Hakawati Project: The Syrian Crisis, which focusses on filmmaking.[43] Finally, Al Hakawati (The Storyteller) Introduction presents a series of video-recorded stories online.[44]

Our online workshop was inspired by this long-standing tradition, and a young female storyteller currently residing in Liverpool, Kindah Ali, joined us. Kindah tells traditional stories about Syria as a hobby. As she says, 'the story is the easiest way to deliver a message. People have empathy with each other's stories and they reflect on their own life'.[45]

Kindah recorded a story about the special month of *Ramaḍān* (Ramadan)[46] and the *musaḥer*,[47] with added images and sounds, and told the story in Syrian Arabic to deliver it in its authentic style. The story, which was based on a conversation between a little girl and her mother introduced the children to the context of this special month, along with its prayers (*tarāwīḥ*), *ifṭār* and *suḥūr*.[48]

It also highlighted the *musaḥer* profession, which is still practised in some neighbourhoods in Old Damascus. The story also incorporated references to food traditionally eaten during *Ramaḍān*, such as *shākryah* and rice, *frīkah* and *kubah*.[49] The story told the children about *sekbat Ramaḍān*,[50] and about making special sweets and buying new clothes to prepare for *'Īd al-fiṭr* and gathering at the grandparents' houses on the first day of the festival, which are also important Syrian traditions.[51]

After listening to and engaging with the story, the children made *ṭarbūsh* using red paper, black tassel and a glue stick.

*Ḥakawāty* workshop (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

Children participating in the *Ḥakawāty* workshop (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

**Arabesque workshop (11–17 year olds)**

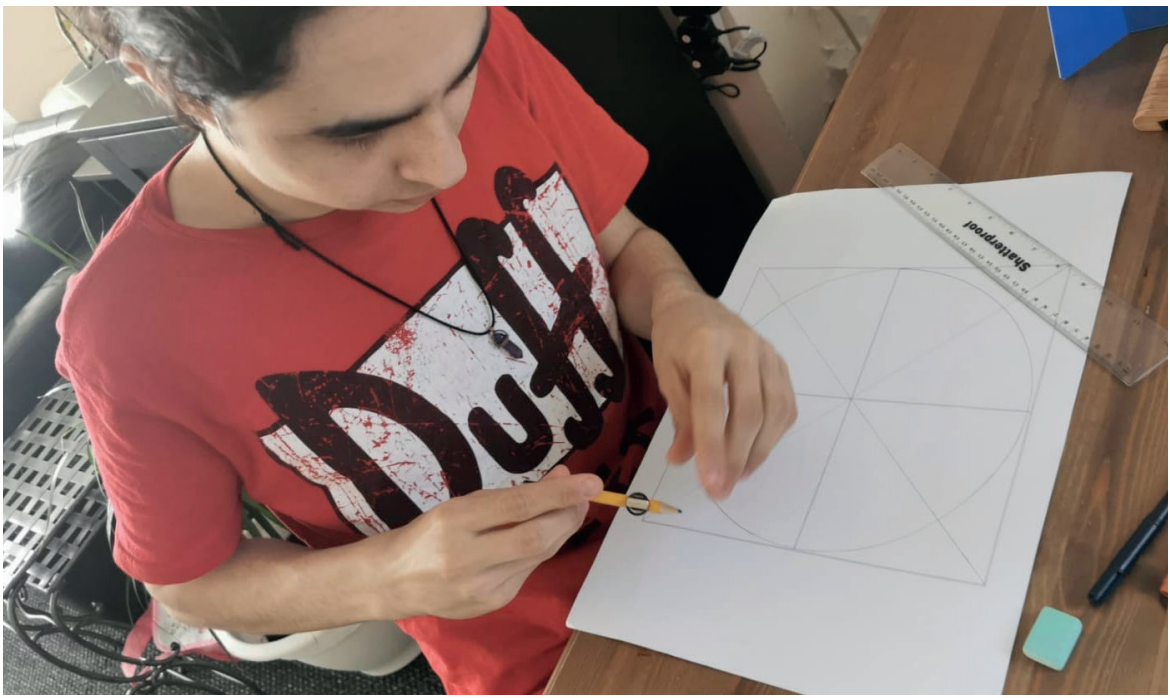
Arabesque, an Islamic geometric art form, is a unique visual feature of both the interior and exterior design of many courtyard houses, mosques, madrasas and palaces around the world, in Syria as in other predominantly Islamic countries.

In addition to its use as a decorative architectural element, the arabesque features in traditional arts and crafts such as textiles, ceramics, metalwork and manuscripts. Examples from Syria are Damascus *brokār*, *'ajamī* painting[52] and mosaic-making.

Islamic craftsmen adopted and developed a classical traditional geometric design that existed previously, mainly in Greek geometry, and produced a distinguished aesthetic art based on repeated geometrical shapes. Arabesque has been a key subject for studies not only because of its complex and fascinating nature, but also because it provides an understanding of Islamic culture.[53] Despite the complexity of the patterns created, all arabesque patterns are formed by systematically combining a small number of geometric elements that are infinitely repeatable.[54]

In our online workshop, the children started by drawing a square on a sheet of white paper. They then used a compass, pencil, ruler and colours to create the pattern. I guided them through the process and they were also supplied with an accompanying booklet that provided step-by-step instruction. Despite the difficulty of teaching this task online, I was fascinated by the intricate patterns the children had managed create when the parents later sent me images of their work.

Arabesque workshop (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)




Arabesque workshop (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

## Phase 4: Survey, interviews, and events

To collate a comprehensive understanding of the existence and deployment of ICH among my fellow Syrians in the UK, information was collected via interviews and a questionnaire survey, as well as the recording of two socio-cultural events. These were aimed at capturing particular ICH skills and knowledge that Syrians have carried with them and utilised in the UK to establish a business, practice a hobby or simply to adapt to daily life and resettlement.

As many had already lived through an extended period of 'lockdown' due to the conflict in Syria prior to moving to the UK, it was important to also capture their perceptions of the situation they were currently facing during Covid-19 lockdown, and to understand how has this succession of traumas was being reflected through creative and cultural practices. Accordingly, eight interviews were conducted in May and June 2021. The interviewees included three of the current custodians of the S-BCC (Dr Ghazwan Al Kalash, Ghena Al Kalash and Khoula Said) and two other members, who preferred to be anonymous. Other interviewees included Kindah Ali (the storyteller), Razan Alsouse (the founder and owner of Yorkshire Dama cheese) and Rania al-Arnab and Thabet Kalthoum (the owners of Zaytuna Mediterranean Cuisine).

The survey was carefully planned and posted as an online link, in order to gather similar information. To respect privacy and confidentiality, the survey was designed to collect the data anonymously unless the participant was willing to provide their name and address to be contacted later.

Two events were recorded: one was a social gathering of colleagues and friends to celebrate *ifṭār* at the end of *Ramaḍān*, as used to be organised in Syria to strengthen the connections between colleagues and friends. Despite being an Islam-related event, all colleagues from all religions used to participate, and this practice was continued in the UK. The second event was also an *ifṭār* gathering, but was a more private affair: the participants were members of the same family and the event took place at their house. Both events featured similar traditional activities, like those of comparable events in Syria.

Traditional *iftār* gathering by a Syrian family in the UK (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

Traditional *iftār* gathering for Syrian colleagues and friends in the UK (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

## Phase 5: Findings and discussions

This project marks the first integrative attempt to understand the ICH of Syrians in the UK and to investigate the role of such practices in facilitating their resilience and adaptation to life in the UK. Previous, and other ongoing, research elsewhere has focused exclusively on the documentation and recording processes.

The interdisciplinary aspects of this study – including history, heritage, memory, architecture, anthropology and socio-cultural values – add to its innovative approach and ensure its relevance in understanding Syrian ICH and its role in helping Syrians face crises, i.e. the armed conflict and the COVID-19 pandemic. This project also contributes to ongoing approaches to helping people, Syrian and others, value the UK as a multicultural nation. Moreover, documenting and investigating such heritage also advances the safeguarding process of this endangered heritage and assists in shaping the reconstruction and reconciliation processes in Syria. The key findings are highlighted in this section of this booklet, while the explicit outcomes will be further elaborated on and disseminated in future academic publications.

Raising awareness of Syrian ICH has been the key aim of this project. This was achieved through the various strategies implemented. The initial approach was via the public lecture, which received encouraging feedback, respondents stating both that the lecture greatly added to their current knowledge about the tangible and intangible heritage of Syria and that they would encourage similar lectures in the future. Dr Ghazwan Al Kalash commented, ‘thank you for this lecture, and for the abundance of information you presented. Folklore and heritage might be seen as simple things in our minds, but you’ve made us aware of larger and broader topics that we might not have thought of before. The images you presented, along with the pertinent information, fuelled our imagination, and we felt like we were in our own country again’.[55]

In broad terms, the discussion centred around three points. Firstly, the importance of utilising the rich heritage of Syria and the unique socio-cultural mix and shared traditions in post-conflict reconciliation. As Dr Ghazwan remarked, ‘the conflict has damaged the social and cultural connections between Syrians. Our shared traditions and heritage might be the only saviour for our reconciliation’.

Secondly, participants suggested that such socio-cultural cohesion and mutual understanding should be shared with other Arabic countries. As Said Al Mashrafi stated, 'socio-cultural cohesion is a unique aspect that distinguishes Syria from other countries with a similar context; this experience should be shared with these countries. We need to encourage dialogue and respect one another as humans, besides stepping away from politics, and we should admire different civilisations, as they have given the world a lot.' Thirdly, the importance of creating strategies to encourage Syrian youth living in the UK to appreciate, practise and be proud of their heritage and identity.

Khoula Said, the Deputy Director of S-BCC, voiced her concern, stating that 'the new generation has not been raised in Syria, or even if they were, we have many traditions and customs that have been forgotten and lost. We are afraid that we might reach a point where there might be a desertification in society in terms of customs and folklore that we are proud of.

Public lecture online discussion (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

We need to find a way to protect our heritage or even appraise it, so it can stay on track with the progression of this generation, to make it more appealing for them'.[56]

While the first two points will be addressed over the course of future activities, the outcomes of the workshops with children initiated the process of addressing the last point. The majority of the children who participated in the three online workshops had very limited knowledge about the heritage elements celebrated throughout the activities, and all of them requested further similar workshops. During a conversation after one of the workshops, one child asked if they were going to have similar workshops every week. During my later discussions with the parents, I was delighted with the level of encouragement I received to organise further heritage workshops, either online or in person, and to hear that the children had expressed that they were proud of their native country and were eager to learn more. These feelings were echoed when the parents shared their children's work with me and consented to be presented in the outputs. One parent stated 'your workshops have encouraged us to talk with our children more and tell them about Syria and its heritage and societies'.

Throughout my communications with my fellow Syrians, all of them stated that the Syrian tradition they miss the most is family gatherings. I found that they have been exploring different ways to establish themselves in the UK. For instance, they gather together to celebrate *iftār* during *Ramaḍān*. Similarly, on an individual scale, they are making efforts to integrate aspects of ICH in their everyday lives or professions – some have started up small businesses, for example – as these remind them of home.

I was invited to attend two *iftār* gatherings during *Ramaḍān*. Attending these events was very moving for me, as I truly felt as though I was back in Syria. The hospitality and generosity of Syrians made me feel at home, as did the way in which the different traditionswere upheld. One guest at the social event told me, 'we miss our relatives and family members in Syria; it's very hard to visit them because of the war. So, we try to gather and celebrate our traditions as we used to in Syria, hoping that happy memories of our life there will help us forget the trauma of the war'.

The same sentiments were expressed during the interviews and in the responses to the survey. Soame of the interviewees shared stories about their struggles after arriving in the UK; nonetheless, they are successfully finding different pathways for their new lives. The main difficulties they face include language and cultural barriers, as well as recognition of their higher education certificates, which they need in order to get work in the UK.

One of the attempts to overcome some of the challenges has been the establishing of the S-BCC in Liverpool. As Khoula Said explains, 'we wanted to group Syrians together and create a "small Syria"; so, we established the S-BCC. We have been trying to help newcomers, as we suffered a lot when we first arrived in the UK. We then decided to establish the associated Arabic School to teach our language'. Dr Ghazwan Al Kalash tells a similar story: 'we are trying as a community in Liverpool to practise some of our customs and traditions as much as we can, so we can feel at home; it's also an opportunity to learn about the different ways these traditions are practised in the different geographical regions of Syria'.

A child engaged with shadow play workshop (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

Dr Ghazwan, who moved to the UK in 2014 with his wife and their children, studied medicine in Syria, where he later became an otolaryngologist, but it took seven years of being in the UK before he was finally able to practise as a doctor again. In his spare time, in addition to directing the S-BCC for the past seven years, he has been tending a small allotment, where he grows a variety of fruit and vegetables that are popular in Syria but not commonly available in the UK, including *mulukhiyah* (jute mallow). His wife, Ghena, has been lucky to be able to continue working as a teacher and has even advanced in her career: she is currently the head teacher of the Arabic School in Liverpool. Like her husband, she is keen to create similar foods to those found in Syria. She bakes Syrian bread at home, has also started making traditional Syrian sweets and has even developed this into a small business. She says, 'we don't have our relatives and families here, and I'm concerned about my children, who are missing relationships with their grandparents'.

Another uplifting story is told by Rania al-Arnab and Thabet Kalthoum, who, when they arrived in the UK with their children in 2014, struggled to find appropriate work aligned with their previous professions in Syria. However, determined to succeed in their new life, they discovered that traditional Syrian food was a great way both to establish connections with people and to make a living for themselves. They established their food stall, Zaytuna Mediterranean Cuisine, and started building strong relationships with their local customers. The stall has helped them to integrate and socialise with their community. As they explain, 'The food stall helped us to learn the language and get to know people, so we don't feel lonely any more. It was also a chance for us to tell people more about Syria and our culture. Most people didn't know that many Syrians are highly educated; they had limited information about Syria and Syrians'.

Another story inspired by traditional Syrian cuisine is that of Yorkshire Dama Cheese,[57] which was founded by Razan Alsous. When she moved to the UK with her husband and children in 2014, Razan was amazed by the quality of the milk, which inspired her to start making haloumi-style cheese using traditional Syrian cheesemaking methods. She has since developed this idea into a successful business that has received several national and international awards. Razan remarks, 'throughout my experience developing different types of cheese based on traditional Syrian methods and flavours, people have asked me to tell them more about the skills and practices behind these traditions'.

Dr Ghazwan Al Kalash during the interview (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

Mrs Ghena Al Kalash during the interview (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

Inspired by her grandmother's and other people's stories, and captivated by the Syrian storytelling tradition, Kindah started telling fascinating stories in her own way to convey a joyful and positive picture of Syria – its longstanding socio-cultural cohesion, its rich traditions and the future ambitions of Syrians. She maintains that, 'learning from each other's stories, we need to remind Syrians of their own traditions to strengthen their motivations for the future'.[58] Although traditionally, the *ḥakawāty* was an old man who told stories for a living, and Kindah is a young woman telling them as a hobby, her stories have attracted people from a variety of different backgrounds. 'I would like other communities to know about Syria and understand who Syrians truly are. We are not just people killing each other, and our life is not just destruction and trauma. We are a highly civilised community with a deep-rooted heritage', she says.

The deployment of their inherited traditions has not only been effective in helping Syrians adapt to everyday life in the UK, it has also helped them survive the lockdown period during the Covid-19 pandemic. For many Syrians, the pandemic was a painful reminder of what they had experienced during the conflict in Syria: the fearfulness, shortage of resources and the possibility of death. However, they all agreed that the Covid-19 lockdown was much easier and that their previous experience had helped them adapt in this new situation. In both cases, practising elements of Syrian ICH had helped them overcome some of the difficulties. All the people I spoke to had invested in time with their families during lockdown. They had communicated with their children, telling them stories about life and buildings in Syria. Some of them had started teaching their children Arabic, traditional handicrafts or how to play a traditional music instrument or to cook typical Syrian dishes. One interviewee said, 'our traditions helped us pass the time during lockdown'.

In the same vein, all the Syrians I spoke to emphasised the importance of passing our heritage on to the next generation. They also highlighted the need to raise awareness of such heritage in the UK. Suggestions varied and included organising a Syrian festival, a market, an exhibition of traditional handicrafts, a traditional music and dance event, continuing the workshops with children of different age groups and encouraging positive exchanges among Syrians in the UK. There was a consensus among all the Syrians I met that there has been a social and political rift among Syrians as a consequence of the political conflict. However, ICH has a massive role to play in reconciliation and in uniting Syrians once again.


Mrs Rania al-Arnab and her husband Mr Thabet Kalthoum during the interview (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

Mrs Razan Alsous during the interview (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

## Phase 6: Dissemination and pathway for impact

For thousands of years, Syrian communities have lived cohesively, sharing the majority of their traditions. Historically, Syrians comprise a tolerant society, accommodating a variety of origins, beliefs, costumes, traditions, food, topography and climate. A united socio-cultural mix such as this is rarely encountered in other comparable societies.[59] However, the role of these shared intangible elements has not been underlined before, and the strategies for shaping them into a strong driver for a post-conflict reconciliation have not been investigated.

This project has pioneered in this area, awakening public interest in Syrian ICH and its importance. Successful collaborations with the S-BCC and Syrians in the UK have enhanced our understanding of their perspectives and needs, and the project has provided a platform for their voices to be heard.

I am also amazed at how some Syrians have already contributed, in their own ways, to raising awareness of our shared heritage and traditions. My fellow Syrians and I have started to observe changes, not only amongst the host community, who have begun to accept us as valued contributors to British society, but also amongst ourselves. Following the success of the workshops, some teachers from the Arabic School decided to introduce shadow-play theatre as part of their educational strategies and tools, as the children responded so positively to learning in this creative and entertaining way. In doing so, they are also helping to preserve an endangered element of our traditions.

In the light of the response to this project and the successful collaboration of everyone involved, and with the support of the University of Liverpool, it was decided that the outcomes of this project would be disseminated simultaneously with the publication of this booklet. The aim is to reach to a wider public in order to raise awareness and inform people about Syrian heritage and our activities. We hope to engage with the local community to receive further input and feedback and to promote the outputs and results, with the ultimate aim of exchanging knowledge and promoting sustainable peace and cohesive societies.

Mrs Khoula Said during the interview (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

Ms Kindah Ali during the interview (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

The dissemination event will therefore include the launch this booklet, the film screening of our activities, performances of traditional Syrian dances (*dabkah*, *samaḥ* and '*arāḍah*) and music and distributing Syrian sweets to the visitors. As a response to the children's high level of involvement and eagerness to learn, we decided, with the support of the S-BCC, to teach some of the interested children two forms of Syrian traditional dance: *dabkah* and *samaḥ*. The Liverpool Museum will provide the perfect venue for the project's dissemination and an opportunity to welcome Syrians as part of Liverpool's community and encourage them to visit other areas of the museum, as well as other museums, and to learn about Liverpool's history. A number of the parents and young Syrians have also offered to perform *'arāḍah*. We are hoping that this collaborative event will initiate a pathway for impact and raise awareness about the values of Syrian heritage.

The stories related in this booklet are not just those of the Syrians who have told them; they are also the stories of hundreds or thousands of other displaced Syrians who have been forced to leave their home country and establish a new life for themselves and their families. As Khoula says, 'home is where you feel safe and respected'.[60]

Syrian ICH is flexible and, despite being associated with and attached to heritage places and an architectural context, it is able to evolve and be sustained without losing its values. This is crucial in gaining understanding of ICH and its role in reconciliation, and in promoting heritage policies that support post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation.

Heritage is our legacy from the past; it shapes our current identity and will continue to inform our future. If not safeguarded, our authenticity will be lost forever.

Traditional Syrian sweets made at home (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

Traditional Syrian coffee serving among colleagues and friends (Ataa Alsalloum, 2021)

# Notes

1. Alsalloum, A. & Brown, A. (2019) 'Towards a Heritage-Led Sustainable Post-Conflict Reconciliation: A Policy-Led Perspective', *Sustainability*, vol. 11, no. 6, p.1690.
2. UNHCR-UK (2021) Syria emergency. Online reports. [Online], available at https://www.unhcr.org/uk/syria-emergency.html (accessed August 2021).
3. UNESCO (2017) *Survey Report: Intangible Cultural Heritage of Displaced Syrians* [Online], available at https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/38275-EN.pdf (accessed August 2021).
4. For further details, see: UNESCO-ICH (2021) What is Intangible Cultural Heritage? [Online], available at https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003 (accessed August 2021).
5. UNESCO (2003) *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, UNESCO, Paris. Available at https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention (accessed August 2021).
6. Atwood, R. (2021) 'The Ugarit Archives', *Archaeology*, vol. 74, no. 4, p.28.
7. Craigie, P.C. (2019) *Ugarit and the Old Testament*, Wipf and Stock, Eugen, Oregon.
8. Matthiae, P. & Marchetti, N. (2013) *Ebla and its Landscape: Early State Formation in the Ancient Near East*, Left Coast Press, Inc., California.
9. UNESCO-WHC (2021) Syrian Arab Republic [Online], available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/sy (accessed August 2021).
10. UNESCO-WHC (2021) The Criteria for Selection [Online], available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/criteria/ (accessed August 2021).
11. UNESCO-WHC (2021) Ancient City of Aleppo [Online], available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/21 (accessed August 2021).
12. UNESCO-WHC (2021) Ancient City of Damascus [Online], available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/20 (accessed August 2021).
13. UNESCO-WHC (2021) Site of Palmyra [Online], available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/23 (accessed August 2021).
14. UNESCO-WHC (2021) Ancient Villages of Northern Syria [Online], available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1348 (accessed August 2021).
15. UNESCO-WHC (2021) Ancient City of Bosra [Online], available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/22 (accessed August 2021).
16. UNESCO-WHC (2021) Crac des Chevaliers and Qal'at Salah El-Din [Online], available at https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1229 (accessed August 2021).
17. For more information, see Petronela, T. (2016) 'The Importance of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Economy', *Procedia Economics and Finance*, vol. 39, p. 734.
18. The *rabābah* is a single-stringed musical instrument made of wood, metal and skin. For more information, see https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/W_As1972-03-10.
19. The *'ūd* (oud) is a stringed pear-shaped wooden instrument similar to a modern lute. For more information, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oud. The *qānūn* is a trapezoid-shaped hollow sound box made of wood and 78 strings. For more information, see https://www.bbc.co.uk/ahistoryoftheworld/objects/zCm0Rn9fQH2yA7rnTAxOaA.
20. *Dabkah* is practised on joyful occasions by all people and is described as a secular dance, while *samaḥ* is associated with special music and religious practices, particularly in Aleppo.
21. *'Arāḍah* is a type of chanting and dancing to initiate a joyful event such as a wedding. It is practised by groups of men, who wear traditional costumes. *'Arāḍah* is mainly performed in Damascus.
22. Famous in Aleppo, *al-qudūd al-Ḥalabīyah* are traditional Syrian songs combining lyrics in Classical Arabic based on the poetry of Andalusia. For more information, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qudud_Halabiya.
23. A game played with metal pieces and shells on a piece of (usually black) cloth embroidered with a square cross divided into small squares, usually played by two or four players.
24. The *musaḥer*, also known as (*musaḥarātī*) is the person who plays a small drum and chants special words as he walks along the streets in old neighbourhoods to wake people up early in the morning during the fast in Ramaḍān, so that they can pray and enjoy their last meal (*suḥūr*) before starting their fast.
25. Ma'mūl is a filled butter cookie made with semolina flour.
26. *'Ajamī* is a traditional technique for painting wooden walls or any interior wooden feature(s). *Brūkār* is a traditional silk fabric with a pattern formed by traditional weaving methods.
27. *Al-Mrāḥ* is a village in southern Syria that is famous for growing special roses.
28. Kindah Ali is a young Syrian, currently residing in the UK, who practises storytelling (*ḥakawāty*) as a hobby while in the UK. Besides sharing her story with us, she also contributed to one of our workshops.
29. Said Al Mashrafi is from Oman and was studying for a PhD in 2021 at the Liverpool School of Architecture.

30. Cominelli, F. & Greffe, X. (2012) 'Intangible cultural heritage: safeguarding for creativity', *City, Culture and Society*, vol. 3, no. 4, p. 248.
31. UNESCO (2017) *Survey Report*.
32. The Trust represents the official accredited body for ICH listing and reports to UNESCO on behalf of the State Party, Syria. For further details, visit https://www.syriatrust.sy/en/guiding_principles (accessed August 2021).
33. Demeter, D. & Landis, J. (2016) *Lens on Syria: A Photographic Tour of Its Ancient and Modern Culture*, Just World Books, Washington DC. Born and raised in Los Angeles, California, Daniel had a desire to travel and explore Syria. For further details, visit https://syriaphotoguide.com/about/.
34. See https://www.facebook.com/Syrian-Cultural-Heritage-106427151265878.
35. The lecture is available via the project's Facebook page (see above) and on the Liverpool School of Architecture website.
36. UNESCO (2021) Shadow Play [Online], available at https://ich.unesco.org/en/USL/shadow-play-01368 (accessed August 2021).
37. To learn more about Shadi's journey, see: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-46452834.
38. The Eastern Gate is one of the seven ancient city-gates of Damascus; it includes a single Islamic minaret adjacent to the church and the door of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate.
39. *Zaytūn* means olives in Arabic, and the church is so called because of the olive trees in its courtyard.
40. *Shurwāl* (or *sirwal*) are traditional baggy trousers. A *tarbūsh* (known as a fez in North Africa), is a felt headdress in the form of a short cylindrical brimless hat.
41. Syria Trust for Development (2019) 'Ḥakawāty Tradition' [unpublished].
42. Cultural heritage Without Borders (2014) Syria: the 'al-Hakawati' Project [Online], available at https://chwb.org/blog/activities/al-hakawati-project/ (accessed August 2021).
43. Film Independent (2021) The Hakawati Project: The Syrian Crisis [Online], available at https://www.filmindependent.org/programs/fiscal-sponsorship/the-hakawati-project-the-syrian-crisis/ (accessed August 2021).
44. The Hands Up foundation (2021) Al Hakawati الحكواتي (The Storyteller) [Online], available at https://handsupfoundation.org/stories (accessed August 2021).
45. See note 28.
46. *Ramaḍān* (Ramadan) is the holy month in Islam, when Muslims fast. Muslims follow the lunar calendar, also known as the Hijrī calendar.
47. See note 24.
48. *Tarāwīḥ*: is a special prayer practised during *Ramaḍān*. *Iftār*: is the practice of eating after fasting; *suḥūr*: is the last meal, eaten very early morning, before starting the fasting of the day during *Ramaḍān*.
49. *Shākryah* is a traditional meal in Syria. It consists of meat cooked with plain yogurt, usually served with rice. *Frīkah* (or freekeh) is made from green durum wheat that is roasted and rubbed to release its flavour. *Kubah* is usually made by pounding meat together with bulgur wheat into a fine paste and forming it into balls filled with meat, toasted pine nuts and spices. Then the balls will be either fried, cooked or grilled.
50. *Sekbat Ramaḍān* is a key tradition, in which people from all religious groups send a plateful of what they have cooked for dinner to their neighbours for *iftār*.
51. 'Īd al-fiṭr is a religious holiday celebrated in Muslims countries at the end of *Ramaḍān*.
52. See note 26.
53. Bonner, J. & Kaplan, C. (2017) *Islamic Geometric Patterns: Their Historical Development and Traditional Methods of Construction*, Springer, USA.
54. For more information, see The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2004) *Islamic Art and Geometric Design: Activities for Learning*, New York.
55. Dr Ghazwan Al Kalash is the Director of the Syrian-British Cultural Centre (S-BCC).
56. In addition to her role with the S-BCC, Khoula works as a volunteer to help Syrian families arriving in Liverpool.
57. For more information, see https://yorkshiredamacheese.co.uk/content/6-razan-s-story (accessed August 2021.)
58. See note 28.
59. Al-Sabouni, M. (2016) The *Battle for Home: the Vision of a Young Architect in Syria*, Thames & Hudson, USA.
60. See note 56.

# Bibliography


Al-Sabouni, M. (2016) *The Battle for Home: the Vision of a Young Architect in Syria*, Thames & Hudson, USA.

Alsalloum, A. & Brown, A. (2019) 'Towards a Heritage-Led Sustainable Post-Conflict Reconciliation: A Policy-Led Perspective', *Sustainability*, vol. 11, no. 6, pp.1686-1707. Available at https://doi.org/10.3390/su11061686 (accessed August 2021).

Atwood, R. (2021) 'The Ugarit Archives', *Archaeology*, vol. 74, no. 4, pp.24-31.

Bonner, J. & Kaplan, C. (2017) *Islamic Geometric Patterns: Their Historical Development and Traditional Methods of Construction,* Springer, USA.

Cominelli, F. & Greffe, X. (2012) 'Intangible cultural heritage: safeguarding for creativity', *City, Culture and Society,* vol. 3, no. 4, pp.245-250.

Craigie, P.C. (2019) *Ugarit and the Old Testament,* Wipf and Stock, Eugen, Oregon.

Demeter, D. & Landis, J. (2016) *Lens on Syria: A Photographic Tour of Its Ancient and Modern Culture*, Just World Books, Washington DC.

Matthiae, P. & Marchetti, N. (2013) *Ebla and its Landscape: Early State Formation in the Ancient Near East,* Left Coast Press, Inc., California.

Petronela, T. (2016) 'The Importance of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Economy', *Procedia Economics and Finance,* vol. 39, pp.731-736.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art (2004) *Islamic Art and Geometric Design: Activities for Learning,* New York.

UNESCO (2003) *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, UNESCO, Paris. Available at https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention (accessed August 2021).

UNESCO (2017) *Survey Report: Intangible Cultural Heritage of Displaced Syrians* [Online], available at https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/38275-EN.pdf (accessed August 2021).